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REPORT ON AMENDING THE PARTY REGULATIONS

Liu Shao-ch'i

## I. AMENDMENT OF THE CCP PARTY REGULATIONS

There are several reasons why the Seventh National Congress of the Party should make a number of important amendments to the Party Regulations.

1. It is now 17 years since the Sixth National Congress of the Party in 1928 when the last amendments were made. Many changes have taken place during the past 17 years both within and without the Party. Today the Party must mobilize its total strength to carry out some completely new political tasks.
2. The accumulated experience gained during the last 17 years in guiding the revolutionary struggle in China is exceedingly abundant and extremely important. This fund of experience in summary form should be used to perfect our Party Regulations and strengthen the Party structure.
3. The Regulations adopted at the Sixth Party Congress, due to special circumstances, contained a number of items that were impractical. This fact led a great many members to regard the Regulations too lightly and to get out of the habit of strict observance. Because of this, the Seventh Party Congress must adopt regulations that are completely suited to the actual conditions of today.

The present situation of our Party, compared with what it was at any previous time, is marked by some very important distinctions. The Party is now this kind of a party:

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Our Party is now nation-wide in scope, widespread among the masses, and one on which is centered the hopes of all the people of the country. It has 1,210,000 members; its organization and members are found in all parts of the country. It is recognized by everybody as their one and only star of salvation.

Our Party has become a party whose leadership has been developed and matured through a long revolutionary struggle. The people of the country look to this party's leadership and military forces in the post-war period to build a unified, democratic new China.

Our Party is already the leader of an area with a population of 95 million which has been converted into a formidable revolutionary base, and in which various political, military, economic and cultural reforms of the New Democracy have been put into effect. Due to these measures, production has been increased, the standard of living raised, peace and security established, and popular self-consciousness quickened. This area has become the pattern for the new China, and the assurance of a revolutionary victory for all the people of the country.

Our Party is one that has overcome the weaknesses of mistakes in thinking and survived serious storms of reformation, so that in its ideology, political rule, and organization it is unified and united to a degree hitherto unknown. The opportunism of the past has been entirely eliminated. The thinking of those who do not belong to the property-less class to a large extent has been overcome in the reform movement, and the ideology and line of Marxism and Leninism represented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has gained an unprecedented and stable victory. Certain destructive and spying elements have been largely purged. The effect of these reforms in the work of liberation is beyond calculation.

Our Party, and this is very important, is one that now has its own great leader, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the outstanding representative of the brave property-less classes, the outstanding representative of the traditional excellence of our great people. He is a highly endowed creative Marxist. He has united the highest human thoughts, the universal truth of Marxism, with the hard realities of the Chinese revolution and has taken the thinking of our people and raised it to a height of reason never before reached. He has pointed out to the Chinese people, sunk in deep misery, the only clear, sure road to complete and thoroughgoing liberation -- the Mao Tse-tung road.

In 1927, our Party and our Chinese people, following this road, launched out upon a great, unparalleled revolutionary movement. Comrade Mao Tse-tung was the organizer of this great revolution. He created and was the leader of the (Chinese) Soviet Republic and the (Chinese) Red Army in Kiangai, 1927 - 32. In the anti-Japanese war he created the great liberated areas and the People's Army, composed of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the leader of our Party, but he is also an ordinary member of the Party; he is under the authority of the Party, and scrupulously observes all its rules and disciplines. He is the leader of the people, but all his actions are based upon the will of the people. He is a most loyal and industrious worker, a diligent and careful student. Comrade Mao Tse-tung is thus the great personality produced by the people's revolutionary struggle and tested through 30 odd years of experience in that great struggle. As is well known, he is the product of careful selection and holds the confidence of the Party and the people alike.

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Our Party not only has its own great leader, but it has around him a large body of able men ideologically armed with Mao's ideas, who constitute the central body of Party workers. In the long struggle through which they have passed, it has been proved that they are superior men, the glory of our people and the rising talent needed for all phases of the national revolution and reconstruction. With this great leader and this kind of high party workers, we cannot be defeated; we shall defeat every enemy of the people.

Comrades! This is the party which has already become an established element in the political life of China. These are the peculiar distinctions of our Party; these are the successes of our Party. These are the great victories of the people of the country. These are the victories of our leader Mao Tse-tung's thinking and leadership. However, this is not to say that in our Party there are no flaws and weaknesses, nor that there are no difficulties ahead of us. Our accomplishments are still far from our objectives. There are many difficulties to be faced and overcome. By far the larger body of members of the Party is in the rural regions and most of them come from the class of farmers and small property holders. Their average level of reasoning and culture is not high. The subjectivism, propensity for deviation, of many comrades has not been entirely overcome. The idea of rule by decree still lingers, as do also bureaucratic and military ideas and attitudes, the inclination to get away from the people, and the disposition to injure the unity and solidarity of the Party by blind obstinacy. These deficiencies and weaknesses require on our part still greater efforts and more laborious educational work in order to be remedied.

The Party and the people of China have gone bravely through a long period of (internal) struggle, and now more recently, though 8 years of resistance to invasion, and now victory is drawing near. Our task now is to get ready for victory and to grasp it; that is, to mobilize and unite the total strength of all the people, and together with the Allies, to drive out the Japanese invaders, recover the lost cities and rural areas, subvert every power in China opposed to democracy, and establish independence, freedom, democracy, and unity in a strong and prosperous new China.

For these objectives, we must increase a hundredfold our party work among the people, strengthening party leadership and organization in thought and in political activities, and preparing ourselves and the people for welcoming an unprecedentedly great victory. This is the most urgent organizational and political task of the Party. These circumstances and tasks of the Party indicate the point of departure for again amending the Party Regulations.

#### FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PARTY REGULATIONS

We are about to formulate the fundamental principles of the Party and to put them at the head of the Party Regulations. These are the principles that run through the whole document from beginning to end; they are the organizing factors of the regulations. Every Party member must accept these principles and make them the rule and standard of all his activities. By them, the unity and solidarity of the Party is promoted. These principles embody the experience gained in 24 years of struggle of the Chinese Communist Party and of the Movement of the Workers of the World, and as formulated are the product of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's, our Party leader's thought. They state clearly and concisely the nature and theory of our Party and the nature, dynamic task, and peculiarities of the Chinese revolution as well as the main direction of our Party's policy in the revolution, and the conditions which our

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Party must bring about. They also show that opportunism cannot be permitted to exist; they provide for self-criticism; they state the Party's policy for the masses and the principles of organization. All of these matters are covered in the Fundamental Principles. I shall now proceed to elucidate a number of points.

1. Nature of the Party.

a. Our Party is the most advanced and best organized body of the Chinese working class, the highest form of their class organization. It represents the interests of the Chinese race and of the Chinese people. In its present state, it is the manifestation of the rule and the strivings of the New Democracy. Its ultimate object is to bring about a Communist regime in China.

b. Our Party is unquestionably and unalterably the party of the proletariat. It was formed at the time of a great proletarian world revolution and embraces the highest traditions of the Marxist-Leninist movement. It conforms entirely to Mao Tse-tung's Chinese form of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and with his political and organizational policies.

c. In its principles and policies it is different from any other political party and is the organizer and leader of the anti-imperialist and antifeudalist revolution of the masses under the New Democracy. The Fundamental Principles and Regulations must be accepted unreservedly by every member who must also be an active party worker.

d. The Party maintains and strengthens the unity of the proletariat in the realms of thought, organization, discipline, and political action. It purges all heterodox elements in its ranks and expels all incorrigible opportunists. Opportunism in the establishment and organization of the Party is the liberalist path of some comrades within the Party. They want to change the Party into a liberal party of the petty bourgeoisie. They are not in sympathy with the rigid ideology, democratic centralism, and iron discipline of the Party. They favor wholesale and indiscriminate reception of members; they listen to all sorts of mistaken ideas and take no steps to rectify them. They are defeatists, inciters of altercation and factionalism, and thus they are really secret enemies of the Party. It is very plain that such things would make it impossible for the Party to accomplish anything and would lead to its collapse; hence, such opportunists must be expelled. In the course of a score or more years of discipline, hardship and struggle, several thousands of members have left their regular occupations in society and entered the collective disciplined life of the revolution, so that they are now trained in thought and organization; their class consciousness and collective will have been raised to a high level, and they have become a uniformly solid terror to the enemy.

e. In order to be the party of the masses, our Party should attract and receive recruits from the petty bourgeoisie. Experience has shown that the great majority of this latter class, after meeting the requirements of the Party and becoming members, earnestly study and accept Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's teachings, and the Party discipline, and are converted from their original nature and embrace the Party line. They participate in the revolutionary struggle of the masses, becoming good soldiers of the proletariat, and many of them have sacrificed their lives for the cause. However, there are a small minority among them who, after joining the Party, do not sincerely accept the Party teachings and do not change their views and ways. They even oppose proletarian views and ways and try to convert us to their viewpoint. This not only prevents them from being good revolutionary soldiers, but causes all sorts of errors and divergencies of views and actions.

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Within the Party, the most fundamentally incongruous features with which we have to deal are the different viewpoints of the proletariat and the petty bourgeois class. This incongruity must be unrelentingly combated by scientific indoctrination of the people in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's teachings. If bourgeois ideology should become prevalent, so as to usurp leadership, the Party could make no progress and would be forced into a retrograde course. To counteract this tendency, our Party must continue unceasingly to combat the above-mentioned errors and overcome them by holding uncompromisingly to Mao Tse-tung's road for the establishment of the Party. Mao attaches first importance to the ideological indoctrination of the Party leadership. He has laid down in detail the political, military, and organizational paths to be followed.

Following are the headings of the remaining sections of Chapter II, and Chapter III - VIII. Their subject matter consists substantially of an amplification of Chapter I above, and of a detailed application to various sections of the Party Regulations of "The Fundamental Principles," which are set forth above.

2. Problems of Ideological Guidance
3. Special Problems of the Chinese Revolution
4. Problems of the Party's Road for the Masses

- III. On Party Members
- IV. Duties and Rights of Members
- V. Democratic Centralism in the Party
- VI. On the Cadres of Party Workers
- VII. Basis Organization of the Party
- VIII. Awards and Punishments

#### IX. The Serene Stability and Agile Adaptability of the Party

It is inconceivable that a party which is to lead the great revolution of 450 million Chinese people to victory should be other than serenely stable with respect to its principles, i.e., the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's ideology, and in these matters, different from any other political party.

On the eve of VJ day and the establishment of a new China, we should seek to unite with other revolutionary and democratic elements in the country. However, we must first assure the regularization and distinctive individuality of our own Party. Before uniting with others we must be clear and firm with regard to the matters which distinguish us from those with whom we are to unite, otherwise such a coalition would amount to a surrender on our part.

Marxism then is the principle which differentiates us, the principle around which other revolutionary and democratic elements must be united, and the principle to which our Party must be unshakably committed. A Party worker must be able to draw clear lines of distinction between the proletarian line and that of any other class or party, particularly as regards petty bourgeois ideas, if he is to convert and elevate others. This illustrates what we mean by the serene stability of the Party, and it is this which must be safeguarded in the amendments to the Party Regulations to be made at this time, if we are to be equal to the difficult and diverse tasks that are ahead of us.

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On the other hand, in the practical application of principles, it is necessary to possess a high degree of agile adaptability. The vanguard of the proletariat must establish close liaison with their own class and with all workers; they must work in league with all revolutionary classes and parties. To be able to do this, they must have adaptability; they must know when to yield, when to compromise, when to defer action. They must know how to harmonize the interests of a section with the interests of the whole, how to adjust the organizational forms to the needs of the struggle; but they must not become confused as to which are matters of unchangeable principle and which are matters where discretion is to be exercised.

Our adaptability is to be governed by our principles. The principles are the standard in the light of which strategy and tactics are to be determined. Our union or coalition with others should be with the purpose of raising them to the level of our principles, and never of lowering our principles to their level. On the eve of victory, we must exercise high intelligence and calm consideration in the progressive determination and development of our plans and operations. Changes in our regulations, strategy, tactics, and operations are to be objective and voluntary, not made unconsciously or under coercion. These considerations have all been taken into account in formulating the proposed amendments to our regulations. We have thought not only of present conditions but of conditions that may exist when the Japanese invaders have been defeated and the people of China undertake to build a nation under the New Democracy.

The Party Regulations we are about to adopt are those that will ensure victory and liberation for the people of China.

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